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TIME RECKONING

It is very difficult to formulate any account of the calendar in the Marquesas. Such information as is at hand from literary sources is very conflicting, and I failed to find a single modern native who had any reliable knowledge of the seasons. The reason for this is obvious; it was the priests and mastercraftsmen only who knew of these matters, and the last of them has long been dead. Lawson says in his manuscript: "The fishermen and the priests are the principal ones who keep the run of the days of the month and distinguish between twenty-nine and thirty days in the different months."

Day and night were divided and named in the following manner: *moa tapu* (*tapu* cock) was about midnight or one o'clock in the morning when the first cock crew; *ma'u o'io'i* (tomorrow-shade), when the third cock crew, about two-thirty; *tata hoata te ma'ama* (the light is near breaking) just before dawn, about three-thirty; *kehukehu*, dawn; *tu nui* (sun standing up), when the sun was quarter-way up, about eight to nine in the morning; *o atea nui*, noon; *evaeva tea*, when the sun was just above the mountains (*mea tata te kapua*); *ahiahi*, just after sunset, when fires (*ahi*) were lighted; *makehukehu*, dusk, before real night set in; *mamata vehine hae* (eyes of *vehine hae* or ogress), about eight o'clock in the evening.

Twenty-nine or thirty nights (*po*) made up one moon (*me'ama* or *mahina*). In the lists of the names of the days and nights (see Table 1) it will be observed that there are more variant terms for the sixteenth night than for any other. A Hiva Oa informant gave an explanation of this as follows: *Akau*, *maue*, and *maie* (another term used for the sixteenth night, not given in the list) all refer to the male procreative organ. *Hotu* or *honu* meant to agitate or stretch. The significance of the use of these figurative terms for the night of the full moon is obvious. It was on the nights when the moon was brightest that the *ka'ioi* circulated most freely. In connection with planting it was pointed out that the natives believed that what was planted in the ground at the time of the full moon would grow best. It is evident that there was here an association of ideas based on the native conceptions of the mode of generation in nature. Whether the following remarks about fishing, made by my informant upon this occasion are directly or only indirectly relevant to the same conceptions is uncertain. The informant explained that the night of the full moon was the least favorable for fishing, and that anyone who went fishing on that night was subject to the taunt *"E ue te avena"* (Your catch will be, or is, a penis).

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NAMES OF THE DAYS AND NIGHTS OF THE MOON[24]

NIGHTS (*po*)	VARIATIONS	DAYS (*oatea*)
1. O Tumi	Tu [L]	O Maamamaama
2. O Tuhava	Maheama tutahi [L]	O Tetohe
3. O Tuhaka	Tuhaaboata [D K] Hoata [P] Maheama vavena [L]	O Pakiikii
4. O Maheama tuatahi	Maheama tahi [D K P] Maheama tuhakapau [L]	O Ua noa
5. O Maheama vaveka	Koekoe tutahi [L]	O Puke noa
6. O Maheama hakapao	Koekoe tuvavena [L]	O Pukeoo
7. O Koekoe tuatahi	Koekoe tutahi [D] Koekoe tahi [K P] Koekoe tuhakapau [L]	O Maunoa
8. O Koekoe vaveka	Hai [L]	O Taunoa
9. O Koekoe hakapao	Una [L]	O Tata mai
10. O Ai	Mahau [L]	O Heke noa
11. O Huna	Hua [L]	O Pua mai
12. O Mahau	Mahao [D] Mehau [K P] Tua [L]	O Taha noa
13. O Ua	Hua [D] Otu-nui [L]	O Haako
14. O Atua	Otu mauii [L]	O Patavai
15. O Tumui	Hohotu nui [D] Hotumui [K P] Otu [L]	O Mahinahina
16. O Mahuto	Honu nui, Honu maakau [D] Hotu maue, Maue [K] Hotu akau [P] Neva [L]	O Tihenoa
17. O Tuu	Metohe [L]	O Huamai
18. O Akau	Aniva [D K P] Hakahau [L]	O Taumai
19. O Motohi	Akau [D] Metohi [K P] Koekoe tahi [L]	O Mamae
20. O Tohiau	Akau [K P] Koekoe vavena [L]	O Kakenoa
21. O Taukume	Koekoe tahi [D K P] Koekoe pau [L]	O Tavatava
22. O Kumea	Koekoe vavena [D K P] Vehe [L]	O Keekee
23. O Eea	Koekoe haapao [D K P] Tane [L]	O Ona noa

[24] Note: The basic list of nights and days in the first and third columns is from the Dordillon MS. (9). The variant terms for nights are from various sources indicated as follows: Dordillon's Dictionary (D), the Kehela MS., Hiva Oa (K), Proiho (P) (a Fatu Hiva informant), and the Lawson MSL. written on Ua Huka.

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NAMES OF THE DAYS AND NIGHTS OF THE MOON—CONTINUED

NIGHTS (*po*)	VARIATIONS	DAYS (*oatea*)
24. O Takaoa tutahi	Tuhiva D P Tanaoa tahi E Hee hee ia L	O Pukepuke
25. O Takaoa vaveka	Atiati D Tanaoa tahi P Taukume L	O Puke noa
26. O Takaoa hakapao	Vaka D Tanaoa vavena P Ku mea L	O Tahataha
27. O Vehi	Tane E Tanaoa haapao P Tana hau vaka L	O Hatihati
28. O Tane	Moui E Tana hau vehi L	O Maunoa
29. O Mouikeo	Onomui D E P Numui L	O Tau noa
30. O Oko mate	Nu mata L	O Moe noa

The phases of the moon were named as follows: the new moon, *mahina hou* (new moon), or *mahina tu* (rising moon); the half moon, or end of the first quarter, *mahina kotapa* (moon cut off); the full moon, *mahina pi* (moon full); and the moon in its last quarter, *mahina fiti po tano* (moon going to dense darkness).

The different moons were thought to be the children of Atea. (See Genealogies). It is probable that the divergences in the lists of moon names (see page 348) are due to local variation in different sections of the group. It is difficult, however, to understand how the position of the name could be shifted in the lists if these names stood for stars or constellations that appeared at these times—as they very evidently did. The only explanation that comes to my mind is that if there were such shifting and changing of names in the calendar, there must have been corresponding variations in the naming of the stars. Of course no constellation or star is visible during only one moon; There may have been some leeway on account of this. Again, it is to be observed that in two lists there are thirteen names; in the two others, twelve. The differences of position of the names may be due to variations in a custom of interpolating the thirteenth month at different times in different sections of the group. I have no evidence that there was such interpolation other than the occurrence of a thirteenth name in two of the lists. It is to be noted that the names which correspond in the several lists occur always in the same order.

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Ten moons (*me'ama*) made one *puni* or *tau*. I have never heard of any way of recording, or of naming, *puni*. *Ehua*, *mataiki*, or *mei nui*, as terms applied to the round of seasons seem to have corresponded to our year. In the mind of the native, however, these terms were not looked upon as a unit of time but merely as referring to the harvests. The *ehua* and *mataiki* were the two great breadfruit harvests, while *mei nui*, meaning literally, much breadfruit, refers also to the harvest. Such thinking in terms of time as the native did beyond the counting of nights and days of the moon and the different moons was referred to in terms of ten moons, *puni*, not of twelve-month periods comparable to ours. In other words, in counting time the native thought in terms of days, moons, and tens of moons; whereas, in thinking of the round of the year, he thought in terms of seasons marked by the appearance of stars and constellations.

NAMES OF MONTHS OR MOONS ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT AUTHORITIES

	DORDILLON MS (9)		DORDILLON DICTIONAR. (8)	KEKELA MS	FORNANDER (12, p. 332)
1.	Matai'i and Iti	(May)	Napea	Mataiki	Kuhua
2.	Tuhua and Takeo	(June)	Matai'i (Pleiades)	Napea	Katuna
3.	Takuua	(July)	Tuhua (Constellation)	Tuhuamatakeo	Ehua
4.	Ehuo	(August)	Takuua (Star)	Takuua	Nanaua
5.	Mahina i hea	(September)	Ehuo (Star)	Mahina i hea	Oaomanu
6.	Oaoamanu me pui	(October)	Mahina i hea	Avea	Avea
7.	Avea with Puaka	(November)	Oaoa manu (Star)	Oaoamanu	Ehua
8.	Mei with Ehua	(December)	Avea	Ehua	Veo
9.	Veo with Tautou	(January)	Ehua (Constellation)	Veo	Uaoa
10.	Uaoa with Uahameau	(February)	Veo (Star)	Uaoa	Uahaameau
11.	Pohe with Fatutii	(March)	Uaoa (Constellation)	Mehau	Pohe
12.	Napea or Tapeka	(April)	Uahameau	Pohe	Napea
13.			Pohe (Star)		Makau (probably Makaii)

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Stars or constellations were also guides in counting the round of the year according to the Dordillon (9) manuscript. The list, which relates to Nuku Hiva, is as follows:

NAMES OF THE STARS OR CONSTELLATIONS[25] THAT SERVED AS GUIDE TO SEASONS[26]

1.	Kana	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
2.	Puaka	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
3.	Avea	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.
4.	Mei	Breadfruit is in season; it is hot.

[25] The appearance of the constellation above the horizon is referred to thus: *Ia tu Mataiki, mewine te tai*, when the Pleiades rise, or stand up (*tu*), the sea is calm. The record given above appears to be from Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva.

[26] Compare with names of months in the preceding list.

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NAMES OF THE STARS OR CONSTELLATIONS THAT SERVED AS GUIDE TO SEASONS—CONTINUED

5.	Ehua	Breadfruit grows large; it is warm; the sea runs high.
6.	Veo	Breadfruit is harvested; it is mild.
7.	Uaoa	There is much harvesting; it is cold.
8.	Mekau	Breadfruit is harvested; it is cold.
9.	Pohe	Breadfruit is finished (June); it is cold.
10.	Komui	Second growth of breadfruit; it is cold.
11.	Atutahi	Breadfruit grows large; it is cool.
12.	Ehuo	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm.
13.	Iti	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm; the sea runs high.
14.	Takeo	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm; the sea runs high.
15.	Tuhua	Breadfruit is finished; it is warm.
16.	Tapeka	Breadfruit grows again; the sea runs high.
17.	Mataiki	Third breadfruit harvest; the sea is calm.

The definitions of the words *ehua* and *mata'iki* (Nos. 5 and 17 of the list in Table 3) offer considerable difficulties. In the first place they were both names of constellations. In the second place they were both used as terms corresponding to our word for year. Again, each was the name of a breadfruit harvest, *ehua* of the greatest annual harvest, *mataiki* of the second greatest, which would appear to have come round about the times of the seasons named after these constellations, but which were very variable. Rainfall governed the breadfruit crops, causing early fruiting, and rainfall was dependant on exposure and winds, the latter being always somewhat variable. The largest breadfruit crop (*ehua*) appears usually to have been in December or January; the next largest (*mataiki*) in April or May. There were besides these, secondary or supplementary crops of first or after growths called *kavea, katoe,* or *komui.* Lawson, writing in 1867 from Ua Huka, states that the great breadfruit harvest called *ua* (probably *ehua*) was in March and April. On Hiva Oa I was told that the great harvest ended in March; that a supplementary crop called *komui* followed this in June; that the second harvest (*mataiki*), not as large as the first, came in September; and that this was followed in December by a second supplementary crop called *kavea.*

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Père Siméon in a personal communication writes that *ehua* and *mataiki* were also sometimes used to refer to the temperature, sometimes to the state of the sea: *mataiki* referring as a general term to the cold season, when the sea was calm on the north coasts and rough on the south; and *ehua* to the hot season, when the sea was rough on the north coasts and calm on the south. In general, the summer (warmer season) from October to March is the time when the sea is likely to be rough on the northern coasts of the islands; the winter (cooler season), from May to September, when it is rough on the south coasts. I was told that the

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moon named *uaoa* was so called because it was in that month that there was usually most rain. With regard to all these matters regarding rainy seasons, breadfruits harvests, and so on, the reader is referred to the report on the Marquesas by the botanist[27] of the Bishop Museum. The time of greatest plenty of fish seems to have corresponded more or less with that of the great breadfruit crop; fish were most plentiful at Atu Ona (on the south coast of Hivo Oa) in December (*avea*), in Haka Hau (on the north coast of Ua Pou but in the lee of Nuku Hiva) in January (*veo*).

NAMES OF STARS AND CONSTELLATIONS

(From Dordillon's Dictionary (8)

STARS	CONSTELLATIONS
Ao'amanu	Haamekau
Atinaha	Heipua
Atutahi	Iti
Ave'a, Aveka	Manu kaki oa (Great Bear)
Ehuo	Matahetu
Matauana	Mataiki (Pleiades)
Mahau	Mahaka
Manapu-upu'ute ahiahi (Venus)	Mahake tutue honu
Nape'a	Me'e (Corvus)
Pohe	Natuihohoe
Pu'ukaha	Titihohoe
Pukeo'o	Tuhua
Puaka	Tuitui hohoe (Orion)
Tahiipua	Ua'oa
Takeo	
Takuua	
Tape'a	
Tauna'a	
Tuna	
Tuuatea	
Uanui	
Ve'o	

(From the Lawson MS.)

STARS	CONSTELLATIONS
Hee-ti (Aldebaran)	Te-umu
Pao-toa (Aquila)	Kana
Hai (Antares)	Mataiki (Pleiades)
Hua (Jupiter)	Na-poka
Hu-aua	Pohii
Ha-vae-a	Hatu-tahi (Fomalhaut)
Maena eke aia	Na-pai-ka (Aries)
Te-huii	Hetu-nui (Venus)
	Hetu-ao (Morning star)
Te-tuii	Hetu ahiahi (Evening star)
Moana tu-tu a ono	

[27]Forest H. Brown, the results of whose botanical researches in the Marquesas have not as yet been prepared for publication.